

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Congress Acts Upon Hunger Relief Bills

Senate Passes Wagner Measure in Preference to La Follette-Costigan Proposal

OPPOSED TO OUTRIGHT GRANTS

But Willing to Allow R. F. C. to Make Additional Loans to Various States

The Senate carried on a three-day debate last week on a momentous problem, that of relieving the unemployed, and finally took action February 20 by passing a bill sponsored by Senator Wagner of New York. The Wagner bill adds \$300,000,000 to the amount which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation may lend to states for purposes of relief. In deciding upon the Wagner bill the Senate turned down a measure which had been prepared by Senators La Follette of Wisconsin and Costigan of Colorado. The defeated La Follette-Costigan bill would have appropriated \$500,000,000 to be used, not as loans, but as direct grants to states for use in relieving the needy.

The Controversy

Three different points of view were expressed in the three-day Senate debate. Senator Glass of Virginia, in his frank, outright, forceful way, represented the attitude of those who hold that the relief of the distressed is an obligation which belongs to state and local governments and private charity and that the national government should not be called upon for aid. Senator Wagner of New York represented the position that the national government should help out in the crisis, but that its contribution should be in the form of loans rather than outright gifts. Senators La Follette and Costigan were the leaders among those demanding that the national government give direct assistance in the form of gifts to the states in order that need might be relieved.

This conflict of opinion is not a new thing. The three points of view have found expression since the early days of the depression. They represent fundamentally different conceptions of governmental responsibility. The second of these forces won the day in the Senate last week, but the issue is by no means settled. It will come up again and again so long as widespread distress exists in the country. It is well, then, to inquire into the relief situation as it exists today, and into the arguments as to the best means of dealing with it.

There is no question but that the unemployment figures have mounted alarmingly during recent months. We have no way of knowing exactly how many Americans are out of work, because statistics are inadequate. It is generally assumed, however, that between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000 persons are unemployed in the United States at this time. It is likely that between a third and a fourth of the industrial population are out of jobs. Those who have recently lost their positions may have surpluses upon which they may draw, but in the case of a considerable portion of the unemployed, reserves have been exhausted and destitution reigns. Harry L. Hopkins, chairman of the Temporary Relief Administration of the State of New York, testi-

(Concluded on page 8)



BON VOYAGE!

—Eiderman in Washington Post

Another Amendment Submitted

A change in the United States Constitution is always looked upon as an event of considerable importance. Not often in our history has the Constitution been amended. Ten amendments were added to it shortly after the Constitution was adopted. It was agreed during the debates on ratification that these amendments be made, so they may be looked upon almost as a part of the original document itself. The eleventh amendment was adopted in 1793, and the twelfth amendment shortly thereafter—in 1804. No other amendments were made until after the Civil War. The thirteenth, abolishing slavery, was adopted in 1865; the fourteenth, defining the civil rights of citizens, in 1868; and the fifteenth amendment, giving Negroes the right to vote, in 1870.

After this there was another long period without amendments. Finally came the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments in 1913. The sixteenth gave Congress the power to levy income taxes, and the seventeenth provided for the direct election of senators in place of the former election by state legislatures. The eighteenth amendment, the famous prohibition feature of the Constitution, was enacted in 1919, and the next year woman's suffrage was put into the Constitution. Then there was a span of thirteen years without amendment, until last month when the twentieth amendment abolished the Lame Duck Congress and provided that Congress should assemble in January of each year and that the president should be inaugurated on the 20th of January following his election.

Now another amendment has been proposed to the states for ratification—the twenty-first. It provides for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Here is the repeal resolution. It will be observed that it is not to be ratified in the usual way. The Constitution provides that ratification may be either by state conventions or by legislatures. The legislature method has been followed heretofore. The pending amendment is to be acted upon, however, not by legislatures of the different states, but by conventions which are to be selected in the states to pass upon the question of ratification:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each house concurring therein)

That, the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the several states:

ARTICLE —

Section 1. The Eighteenth Article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Japan Condemned in New League Report

Committee of Nineteen Transmits Result of Investigation Into Manchukuo to Assembly

STIMSON DOCTRINE IS UPHELD

Holds "Free" Manchukuo Unacceptable. Japan May Resign From League

In spite of world-wide efforts at conciliation, the threat of new war now hangs over the Far East as a result of Japanese ultimata to China to evacuate the Chinese province of Jehol, between the Great Wall of China and Manchuria. As a result, President-elect Roosevelt may be confronted with the necessity of making one of the most far-reaching decisions of American foreign policy.

League Supports U. S.

On February 21 at Geneva, the nations of the world met in plenary session of the Assembly of the League to pass judgment on Japan. A League Committee, reporting on the Chino-Japanese dispute on February 17, had formally accused Japan of aggression in Manchuria and refused recognition to the new state of Manchukuo. By this action, it supported the new American policy in international relations known as the Stimson Doctrine of non-recognition of territories acquired by aggression. Japan's immediate reaction was flat rejection of the League's Manchurian decision, with orders to the Japanese delegation at Geneva to return to Tokyo after the Assembly meeting. Threats of Japanese secession from the League have been somewhat counteracted by the opinion of Japan's Elder Statesman, Prince Saionji, who is against withdrawal. Final decision is not expected until after the beginning of the Roosevelt administration at Washington, and possibly not for three months.

Peace Machinery Tested

The question of how far the new American administration will go in supporting the Stimson policy is now a vital one to the nations attempting to enforce peace in the Far East through the machinery of the League. The treaties ending the World War in 1919 established, for the first time in world history, the principle of condemning international military aggression as an illegal act. It is on this fundamental idea as a basis that the whole machinery of the organization of world peace through arbitration and conciliation has gradually been evolved since the World War. And it was as a logical sequel to this idea that Secretary of State Stimson pronounced his now famous doctrine that no acquisition of territory by military aggression should be given international recognition. On February 23, 1932, in a letter to Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary Stimson reaffirmed the American government's intention to uphold its treaty obligations, and declared that the United States "would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement entered into—in violation of these treaties." This meant American refusal to recognize the legal status of the new state of Manchukuo set up by Japan in the three eastern or Manchurian provinces of China after their military conquest by Japanese invading forces.

Now, on February 17, 1933, a year later, the League of Nations has confirmed this Stimson policy by the report of the League Assembly's Committee of Nineteen, on which all the great powers, members of the League, except Japan and China, were represented. This report, broadcast to the world from the League radio station at Geneva, created an international sensation, for it formally accused Japan of illegal aggression in Manchuria, denying the Japanese claim of self-defense. It was the first time in the history of the world that the policy of any one great power had been jointly condemned by the other nations of the world. With the unqualified declaration that "sovereignty over Manchuria belongs to China," the report recognized that Japan has special interests in Manchuria, but insisted that China alone has the right of jurisdiction over the territory occupied by Japanese soldiers since September, 1931. The report laid upon Japan the responsibility for all the fighting of the past year on Chinese territory, and demanded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria, except for the Japanese guards along the right-of-way of the South Manchurian Railway. The exact method and time limit for this evacuation were left to future negotiations. Finally, the committee report declared that the so-called new independent state of Manchukuo is not a spontaneous expression of the will of the people of Manchuria, but only a puppet state set up by the invading forces of Japan. It urged continued world-wide nonrecognition of this new government by all the member nations of the League, as contrary to existing international treaties. This was a firm stand in support of the Stimson nonrecognition policy and a response to the invitation which the American secretary of state has given to members of the League to unite the "moral force of world opinion."

Possible Solution

As a solution to the situation in the Far East, the League report recommended that instead of the present Manchukuo régime, an entirely new self-governing administration should be set up in Manchuria under the sovereignty of China instead of Japan, and respecting the rights of all other foreign nations. International negotiations between representatives of China, Japan and the League were proposed in the committee's report, to set up the new government and draw up a new treaty basis for Sino-Japanese relations. Both the United States and Russia were invited to share in these negotiations, as nonmembers of the League having special interests in Manchuria. The League report was based primarily on the conclusions of the Lytton

Commission, sent by the League last year to investigate the situation in Manchuria. The famous ten points essential to a satisfactory settlement, as given in the Lytton Report, were: (1) consideration of the interests of both China and Japan, (2) consideration of the interests of Soviet Russia, (3) conformity with existing treaties, (4) recognition of Japan's special interests in Manchuria, (5) establishment of new treaty relations between China and Japan, (6) provision for settlement of future disputes, (7) establishment of Manchurian autonomy under Chinese sovereignty, (8) insurance of internal order in Manchuria and security against external aggression, (9) encouragement of economic relations between China and Japan, and (10) international coöperation for the reconstruction of China itself. Point seven of this program has been the stumblingblock for conciliation throughout the League efforts toward settlement, for Japan has consistently refused to recognize China's right to Manchurian sovereignty, although in 1904 the Japanese Foreign Office insisted that Russia recognize Manchuria "as an integral part of China."

Treaties and Covenant

The committee report was also founded on the nonaggression provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact of Paris, and the Nine Power Pact of Washington. The United States was a signatory of both the last two of these international treaties, the first of which renounced war as an instrument of international policy, and the second guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. Japan had signed all three of the international agreements cited by the League in its Manchurian report.

The process by which the League made its report on the Chino-Japanese dispute was prescribed in Article XV of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provides that international disputes not submitted to arbitration may be appealed by either party to the Council of the League and referred by the Council to the Assembly for a report and recommendations. China appealed the Manchurian case to the Council in September, 1931, at the beginning of the Japanese invasion. Japanese spokesmen have since questioned the right of the League to go any farther than merely making a report and recommendations. In Article XVI of the Covenant, however, the so-called punitive article, the League is authorized to enforce its decisions by taking what are known as "sanctions" against any member state resorting to war contrary to League rulings. These sanctions would include the severance of all trade and financial relations between

League members and the offending nation, the prohibition of all intercourse between the people of League member states and the people of the offending state, and even "between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not."

American Policy

The coöperation of the United States in forming a united front against Japanese military aggression is regarded by League members as essential to a solution of the Far Eastern hostilities. It is pointed out that American interests are deeply involved, first, because of our important trade with both China and Japan. Any act of war by Japan such as a blockade of Chinese ports would seriously interfere with our commerce with China, and on the other hand the invoking

of sanctions by the League under Article XVI of the Covenant would hamper or cut off our trade with Japan. American marines also form a part of the international garrison of the neutral zone at Shanghai, China's greatest port, which would be the first to suffer from a Japanese blockade, and a number of American business men have interests near the danger zone of Chino-Japanese fighting. President Hoover's recent policy of an arms embargo against nations at war, which is now before Congress, might at any time be invoked as an international policy for enforcing peace in the Far East, and American munitions manufacturers might be asked to stop all sales and shipments to either China or Japan. Finally, we are obligated to uphold the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and the Nine Power Treaty of Washington, both of which have been publicly endorsed by Secretary Stimson and President-elect Roosevelt. Some European observers declare that, as the League of Nations plan was launched by an American president and later repudiated by the American Senate, a second American repudiation of an international policy, such as the Stimson Doctrine or the Kellogg Pact, might seriously reduce American prestige and influence abroad.

Japan's Decision

Japan's conduct will be the deciding factor in the Far Eastern situation, and will mean victory or defeat for the world's efforts at conciliation. Receipt of the League Committee's report caused an immediately antagonistic reaction among the Japanese military authorities who now appear to be in control of the government. Japanese spokesmen at Geneva announced definite rejection of the League recommendations and insistence upon maintenance of the Japanese administration in Manchukuo. The situation was further complicated by the delivery of an ultimatum to China, in the name of the Manchukuo government, demanding Chinese evacuation of the province of Jehol between China proper and Manchukuo. Technically, this ulti-



—Drawn for the AMERICAN OBSERVER

MANCHUKUO — BATTLEGROUND OF THE FAR EAST

mum was not directly from the Tokyo government, but it is enthusiastically supported by a large body of Japanese public opinion and would be enforced by Japanese troops.

On the other hand, there is a division of opinion in Japan, and although the militarists demand immediate withdrawal from membership in the League of Nations and the playing of a lone hand against the world, all the more moderate opinion seems to be against it. The Japanese have always taken a great interest in the League, with pride in Japan's place on the Council, and there are reported to have been more League of Nations societies in Japan than in any other country in the world. After receipt of the League Manchurian report, moreover, a special cabinet meeting in Tokyo asked the opinion for the first time in ten years, of the last living Elder Statesman of the empire, Prince Saionji, and the immense weight of his august opinion was thrown against withdrawal from the League. The brilliant leader of the Japanese Geneva delegation, Matsuoka, has been summarily recalled to Tokyo, and the decisions of the next few weeks will decide which way Japan will turn at a crossroads in her history—toward aggressive isolation, or toward peaceful collaboration with the rest of the world. A decade ago, her decision was toward peace when, at the request of the great powers, Japanese troops were withdrawn from the Chinese province of Shanghai.

FRANCE AND ITALY

An extremely delicate and explosive situation has developed in Europe during the last several weeks. It seems that Italy undertook to send a shipment of arms to Hungary by way of Austria. France and England protested and joined in sending a note to Austria requesting an explanation and setting a time limit for a reply. This action brought immediate denunciation of France in the Italian press which charged that the note amounted to an ultimatum. The Austrian government decided that the wording and contents of the message were unacceptable and determined not to reply but to refer the matter to the League Council.

According to reports the real issue at stake is the control of Austria. France is said to be seeking to bring Austria into line with the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—in order to isolate Hungary and divide Italy from Germany. The French fear the formation of a bloc of countries opposed to her policy of retaining the provisions of the Versailles Treaty.



—Courtesy Red Star Line

THE GREAT WALL—JAPAN EXPECTS TO MAKE IT CHINA'S NORTHERN BOUNDARY LINE

If Japan succeeds in annexing Jehol, which she claims is an integral part of Manchukuo, China will have been pushed south of the Great Wall built centuries ago as a protection against foreign invaders.



ERE is the record of Congress for the third week in February: SENATE. Passed Blaine resolution for repeal of the eighteenth amendment February 16 after long debate. Finance Committees held hearings on collapse of Insull public utilities corporations and on economic recovery. Judiciary Committee modified the House bankruptcy act, to apply especially to farmers, and reported it to the Senate. Agriculture Committee reported favorably on the domestic allotment bill, but no vote on it is expected this session. Sub-committee on elections held hearings at New Orleans on Overton-Broussard election contest. Passed Interior Department appropriations bill and sent it to the president for signature. Passed War Department and four department (State, Labor, Justice, Commerce) appropriation bills and sent them to conference with the House.

HOUSE. Passed Blaine resolution for repeal of the eighteenth amendment February 20. Defeated motion to consider tariff measures against countries with depreciated currencies. Foreign Relations Committee approved a resolution authorizing arms embargos against shipment of arms to nations at war, but limited it to the western hemisphere, thus excluding Japan and China. Appropriations Committee reported Navy Department appropriations bill with \$4,591,000 above budget, to begin construction up to treaty limits. Debated District of Columbia appropriations bill.

Lindsay Visits Roosevelt

Sir Ronald Lindsay, British ambassador to the United States, returned from London February 20 and stopped over in New York for a two-hour conference with President-elect Roosevelt on the war debt situation. The ambassador had visited his country for the express purpose of discussing the question with Prime Minister MacDonald and other members of the British cabinet. It seems now that the war debt conferences between the United States and Great Britain, and later with other countries, will be much broader than at first expected. It is suggested that all related problems may be discussed in an effort to formulate a general reconstruction program for all nations.

Glass Refuses Post

Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, whose participation in the cabinet has earnestly been sought by President-elect Roosevelt, definitely refused to accept that post February 20. Great pressure was exerted upon the Virginia senator, but he remained firm, feeling convinced that he could be of greater service to the nation by remaining in the Senate. It is apparent that there will be a strong movement for inflation in Congress during the special session. Senator Glass, who is strongly opposed to any such measures, is of the opinion that he will be in a better position to fight them as senator than as secretary of the treasury. The senator's refusal makes it necessary that Mr. Roosevelt alter his cabinet plans. It is thought that William H. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Company, will become secretary of the treasury, and that Senator Claude A. Swanson of Virginia will become secretary of the navy. Senator Swanson had not been in line for that position because it was expected that his fellow senator would be in the cabinet.

Narrow Escape

President-elect Roosevelt narrowly escaped assassination on February 15 just as he ended a speech in Miami, Florida. He was fired upon five times by a man named Zangara. The president-elect was unhurt but five others were wounded, one of whom was Mayor Anton J. Cermak of Chicago. Mayor Cermak was seriously injured and it was not known whether or not he would recover.

The would-be assassin appeared to be a half-crazed person who said that he hated all rulers and had first intended to kill President Hoover. Mr. Roosevelt remained calm and unafraid. Secret-service men, however, are guarding him more closely than ever before and will attempt to persuade him not to make many public appearances, because at the present time there are many who feel bitterly towards governments and presidents. It is almost impossible to protect a person in public life from the gun of an assassin mingling with the crowd.

THE WEEK

Mrs. Roosevelt

Despite President-elect Roosevelt's close call at the hands of the would-be assassin, Mrs. Roosevelt intends to make the drive from New York to Washington alone. The only additional occupants in her roadster will be two dogs, which are to have the distinction of living at the White House during the next four years.

Hoover Sends Message

Last week President Hoover delivered what will probably be his last message to Congress. His action came as a surprise since he had not been expected again to address this session of Congress. The president recommended an eight-point program which he wishes adopted before Congress adjourns. His recommendations included passage of the bankruptcy bill; ratification of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway Treaty; enactment of the Glass banking bill; authorization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to grant additional loans to states for direct unemployment relief; defeat of the domestic allotment plan for agriculture; repeal of the procedure of the House in publishing loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; expansion of the Home Loan Discount Banks into a general mortgage discount system and granting of authority to the president to enforce an arms embargo whenever it is deemed necessary.

Congressional leaders were of the opinion that this program would not be adopted by the present session. In fact, the message was received lukewarmly and in some instances criticized because of its tardy delivery. On the same day that it was sent to Congress the Senate passed the Wagner relief bill (see page 1), and it was indicated that action on proposed bankruptcy legislation would soon be taken.

War on the Amazon

Fighting has broken out between Peru and Colombia over Leticia, the port on the Amazon claimed by each country. Diplomatic relations have been broken off and a serious conflict seems likely. Colombia has appealed to the League of Nations, under Article XV of the Covenant. The League's first step according to this article will be to "make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration of the dispute." To carry out the provisions of the article it was believed that an international committee of diplomats, stationed in South America, would be asked by the League to make an inquiry on the spot. This is the first time that an American republic has asked the League to intervene in the region protected by the Monroe Doctrine. The United States has not favored interference by the League in South or Central America but apparently will not object in this instance.

And in the Chaco

While these events were taking place with regard to Leticia, Paraguay was planning a formal declaration of war against Bolivia. The two countries have been fighting for many weeks over the Chaco. Attempts to bring about conciliation have been made by neutral countries without avail. Paraguay has been anxious to declare war because such action would oblige Argentina and Chile to proclaim their neutrality and thus bring an end to the shipment of war materials to Bolivia through those countries. Paraguayans were of the opinion that a declaration of war would not label them as aggressors, since, in their opinion, Bolivia has already shown herself to be guilty.

German Situation

As the March 5 election approaches, the political atmosphere in Germany is becoming more and more bitter, with Hitler gradually assuming more dictatorial authority. Not content with the recent ban on all newspapers criticizing its policies, the Hitlerite cabinet now is repressing all public meetings and demonstrations hostile to its régime, according to foreign reports. Only Hitlerites and Nationalists are allowed to express themselves freely. Opposition is being crushed nearly to the same

extent under Hitler in Germany as it is under Mussolini in Italy. Therefore, the parties of the Center and the Left are in a difficult position to seek votes.

An Aging President

The strain of the last two years' happenings in Germany is apparently beginning to tell on its aged president, Paul von Hindenburg. Although official information is lacking it seems that there are grave apprehensions for his health. He does not give the impression of being quite so vigorous as formerly and it is suggested that tiredness was an influence in his yielding to Hitler's demands to be given the chancellorship. It is natural that thoughtful Germans should feel uneasy since von Hindenburg is the nation's only bulwark against unbridled turmoil and confusion.

Relief Demands

Agrarian unrest appears to be increasing. On February 16, four thousand Nebraska farmers marched to their state capital to demand a halt on farm foreclosures and evictions. They also requested that the federal government issue large quantities of paper money to be used for lightening the tremendous burden of those in debt and for the repayment of all losses due to recent bank failures. Similar marches are being arranged to take place in Indiana, Oklahoma, Wisconsin and Texas.

Seattle Unemployed

A day before the Nebraska march, a determined, but orderly, army of 2,000 unemployed demonstrators walked into the County-City Building in Seattle, Washington, stating their intention of remaining until each family received the guaranty of \$13.50 worth of groceries per week. This and the other demands they made were called "impossible" by county officials. Nevertheless, the unemployed gave no indication of yielding and, a few days later, 3,000 more jobless had joined their ranks.

Joining Hands

Yale and Harvard, traditional rivals in fields of learning and athletics, have decided to cooperate in what is termed a new experiment in education. With business problems growing more complex it is realized that law students should have some training in business administration. Therefore arrangements have been made to have a limited number of Yale law students spend a year in the Harvard School of Business Administration. The student taking such a course will spend his first year at Yale, his second at Harvard and his last two at Yale again.

Air Forces

Shall air forces be suppressed in time of war? Shall bombing be abolished? Shall a League of Nations air force be established? Shall international control of civil aviation be established? These are some of the questions involved in the British proposals now before the disarmament conference at Geneva. Great Britain insists that the first three questions should be answered in the affirmative. France, in keeping with her security policy, wants an affirmative answer for all four questions. But the United States and Canada are very much opposed to international control of civil aviation. At present a committee of eighteen countries is attempting to bring together these divergent views.

Railroads

The National Transportation Committee, appointed last October under the chairmanship of the late Calvin Coolidge, has completed its investigation of the railroad problem and submitted its report on February 15. Facts for the report were gathered by members of the Brookings Institution of Washington of which Dr. Harold G. Moulton is president. The major recommendations of the committee were as follows: (1) consolidations of lines in various sections of the country in order that eventually one unified national system may be developed; (2) regulation by the government of all transportation that competes with the roads; (3) easing

of the bankruptcy laws so that insolvent roads may be reorganized more rapidly; (4) discontinuance of government subsidies to water transportation companies; (5) repeal of the so-called recapture clause by which law the prosperous lines are obliged to make contributions from their profits to the weaker lines; (6) simplification of rate-making laws.

Georgia Celebrates

Georgia celebrated its two hundredth birthday last month. It was on February 12, 1733, that Sir James Oglethorpe sailed up the Savannah river with 112 followers and established the town of Savannah and the colony of Georgia. Oglethorpe had received a grant from King George II of England, to found a colony in which men who had been imprisoned for debt could find refuge. Starting from this rude settlement Georgia became the thirteenth of the original thirteen colonies. The celebration, begun this month, will last until fall when President-elect Roosevelt is expected to visit the state.

Strike in France

Protesting against a proposed general salary cut of 5 per cent for government employees, approximately 300,000 civil workers in France staged a strike on February 20. In government offices throughout the country the strike lasted for an hour but was shortened to about ten minutes in the case of persons employed in rendering essential services such as city transportation. The proposed wage cut would affect all employees earning more than 1,000 francs (\$39.20) a year. Premier Daladier was supporting this measure as part of the government's economy program. However, the Socialists, on whose support in the Chamber of Deputies the premier depends, are in sympathy with the strikers and if M. Daladier persists in his attitude his cabinet may be forced to resign.

Insull Investigations

On February 15 the Senate Banking and Currency Committee started its investigation of the wrecked Insull Utility Empire, the collapse of which resulted in enormous losses to thousands of small investors. The hearings are being held to examine the structure of the ruined empire, looking forward to legislative acts which would prevent the reestablishment of another such uncontrolled monopoly.

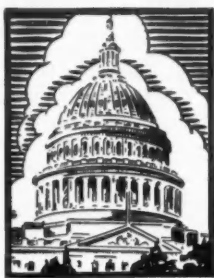
Geneva Broadcasts

While the League Committee's report on Manchuria (see page 1) may have condemned Japan it showed no partiality in so far as publication of the report was concerned. Great care was taken to broadcast the 15,000-word document to all parts of the world at the same time. Ten hours were consumed in sending out the report by wireless. That the news should have trickled out so slowly from Geneva was a source of irritation in countries possessed of equipment capable of receiving information quickly. League officials, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that the same words were being flashed in Paris, London, Berlin, Washington and Tokyo at exactly the same time.

State Conventions

As soon as the House of Representatives had voted to repeal the eighteenth amendment, two bills were introduced providing methods by which the new amendment is to be ratified. Since the twenty-first amendment itself provides that ratification shall be made by state conventions rather than the state legislatures, the first time such procedure will be followed since the adoption of the Constitution by the original thirteen states, considerable question has risen as to the method of electing delegates, calling the state conventions together and as to the expenses involved in the conventions. Representative La Guardia of New York, sponsor of one of the bills, recommends that the federal government stand the entire expense and that the conventions be held in all states within the next four and one-half months. According to his bill, all delegates would be elected May 16 and the conventions would meet between thirty and forty-five days later. The other bill, introduced by Representative Summers of Texas, would let the state governors and legislatures decide the date of the conventions but recommends that delegates be elected in the same way as presidential electors are chosen.

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As the Editor Sees It

THE submission to the states of the twenty-first amendment taking prohibition out of the Constitution illustrates the rapidity with which changes of opinion sometimes come in the United States. Anyone who would have predicted four years ago when President Hoover took office that during his administration the Senate and House would each pass, by the required two-thirds majority, a resolution repealing the eighteenth amendment, would have seemed a ridiculously rash prophet. Even a year ago it appeared utterly improbable that the present Congress would vote for repeal. Yet the thing has happened. And it is interesting to remember that prohibition came into the Constitution by another such swift change of sentiment. Agitation for prohibition had been going on at intervals for three-fourths of a century. Quite a little progress had been made. Yet national prohibition seemed an idle dream, indeed, at the beginning of the war. Then prohibition sentiment quickly crystallized. There was a stampede for the movement, and within a few months' time the eighteenth amendment had been submitted and ratified. Prohibition is by no means out of the Constitution yet. A hard fight will be waged in the state conventions, and it is possible that three-fourths of the states, or thirty-six of them, will not ratify. But it appears remarkable that the resolution has at least been submitted and that it is accorded a fair chance of adoption.

These sudden reversals of position by the American people, however, have been seen before. The crisis of the war between the states resulted in a rapid development of sentiment in favor of emancipating the slaves, and at other times in history such hurried changes have been made. The German economist, M. J. Bonn, writes of these evidences of instability in his book "The Crisis of Capitalism in America." He says that opinion shifts more quickly in America than elsewhere because we are not so firmly grounded in tradition as the people of the older countries are. The observation of these gusts of changing opin-

ion in America leads him to believe that if hard times should continue long, the Americans are more likely than most European peoples to make drastic changes in the economic system.

THE closing of the banks of Michigan for a week by order of the governor may have been necessary. Probably if the bank holiday had not been called a great Detroit institution which was in danger would have closed its doors and this might have caused a serious run on banks throughout the state and even throughout the nation. The closing of the Michigan banks did, however, shake the confidence of the country. It stirred the people with the fear, probably unwarranted, that banks everywhere might be in danger. It encouraged hoarding and tended to check the forces making for recovery.

This news from Michigan is the more alarming because it does not stand alone as evidence of the weakness of the American banking system. Since the depression began, nearly 6,000 American banks, or something like a quarter of the total number in the country, have closed their doors, tying up \$3,500,000,000 and depriving thousands upon thousands of people of their life savings. It seems useless to talk about restoring confidence until some way can be found by which savings may be made secure, and appeals against hoarding are likely to fall on deaf ears until people have assurance that when they put money in a bank they can draw it out.

A reform in our banking laws appears, then, to be imperative. The problem of devising a banking system which will work is a challenge to American citizens and their leaders. It does not seem that it should be too difficult for solution. Those who ask for better and safer banks are not, after all, calling for the millennium. They are asking only that America do what other nations have already done. Let it be remembered that since the depression began there has not been one single bank failure in Canada. A Canadian bank failed in 1923. Another failed in 1914. That is the twenty-year Canadian record. This record should be an inspiration to thoughtful and patriotic Americans to study the problem of banking, to study the practices of other nations, to determine what changes in our banking system may be necessary in order to insure relative safety. If our citizens in increasing number should study these problems, the appeals of selfish banking interests and of self-seeking demagogues would be less effective than they now are. Then we might hope that, under sane financial leadership, we might handle our banking business as well as foreigners handle theirs.



TOO BIG TO EARN ITS OWN SALT (SEE P. 3)
—Carlisle in Washington Star

TWO hundred twenty prominent American educators have formulated a general program which they would like to see carried out and have petitioned President-elect Roosevelt, with the coöperation of the new

Congress, to put it into effect. Among these educators are: Dr. John Dewey, professor of philosophy at Columbia University; Burton Fowler, president of the Progressive Education Association; Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers Union of New York; Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University; Dr. William John Cooper, United States commissioner of education, and Frederick J. Kelly, chief of the Division of Colleges and Professional Schools of the United States Office of Education. The appeal to the incoming administration contains a demand for action along these lines:

The continuous gathering and interpretation of data for the intelligent organization and direction of basic industrial processes, as one integrated whole.

The determination in some effectual shared fashion of the social objectives which we set up from time to time for guiding the common aspects of American life.

The coördination of various parts of the entire economic mechanism: production and consumption, agriculture and industry, industry and industry, region and region.

An intelligent apportioning of national income between investment for further productive equipment and purchasing power for consumers' goods.

The equitable distribution of occupational opportunities and appropriate insurance to care for unavoidable maladjustments.

Effective provision for those services which are essential to all, such as health, education and recreation.

Provision for the intelligent coördination of our national economy with that of other nations.

This program, though somewhat vague, is important in that it represents a determination on the part of educators to exert an influence in the determination of public policy. If, now, they will give definiteness to some of their demands, if they will point out how the objectives may be attained, if they will go so far as to draft bills which, if enacted into law, would bring the general aims to realization, and if they will bring this proposed legislation to the attention of national and state officials, they may exercise a commanding influence. One reason why disinterested idealists have usually had less to do with the determination of public policy than have selfish special interests is that they have too often been satisfied with the advertising of indefinite visions, whereas individuals and corporations with axes to grind have mapped out definite and practical programs and have known how to exert the pressure necessary for the adoption of their concrete suggestions.

LET us suppose that by some wholly unexpected exhibition of strength, the Japanese should land an army on our Pacific coast. America would then be in imminent danger of invasion. It would cost millions to equip an army to meet the invader. But would any question be raised as to whether the invader should be repelled? Would voices be raised to declare that it would injure the national credit to borrow money for such a purpose? This question answers itself. The money would be raised. The army would be prepared. This would be done because the disposition of men and women is such that injury inflicted by a foreigner is considered something to be prevented or avenged at all costs. But if the injury comes not from a foreign source but as a result of the operation of impersonal forces, the disposition to prevent it or to bind the wounds which have been inflicted is lacking. And so we do not see the people of the nation rising up as one man today to demand that suffering from hunger and cold on the part of millions of good American citizens be prevented. As many Americans are suffering today, no doubt, as would be the case if foreign armies were to move from one coast to the other. But in the face of the crisis we are inactive because we cannot



FINISHING UP THE DISHES

—Talbot in Washington News

meet the present peril by an appeal to the primitive impulse of pugnacity.

THE political situation in Germany is rather hard to understand. Adolf Hitler, the present chancellor, has time and again proclaimed himself as a socialist. He has condemned big business and has promised to socialize industry. Yet he came to power with the evident support of big business leaders. What is the explanation? Apparently Herr Hitler has given up his plans of socialization. The business leaders found, no doubt, that they had nothing to fear from him. His tirades against business were popular with the dispossessed German masses but they seem to mean nothing now that Hitler has come into a position of power. The business leaders seem to be for him because he is a nationalist and stands for nationalistic trade policies, such as protective tariffs. He is also a bitter opponent of communism which constitutes the real threat against German capitalism.

S ELDOM, if ever, in time of peace has a new administration been confronted by so many difficult problems as will beset the Roosevelt administration when it takes the helm next Saturday. In the domestic field, there are a host of questions having to do with depression relief. There is the issue as to whether the currency shall be inflated; as to whether a drastic farm relief plan shall be adopted; as to whether the government shall embark upon a far-reaching program of unemployment relief; as to whether the banking laws shall be amended. In the international field, there is the immediate problem having to do with the Far Eastern crisis. Shall the United States join the League of Nations in such action as it may take to prevent Japanese aggression against China? Shall the debts be revised downward and, if so, upon what terms? Shall the United States assume a leadership in the breaking down of barriers to international trade? What, if anything, shall be done to maintain the gold standard throughout the world? What degree of leadership shall the United States government exercise at the forthcoming World Economic Conference? How may the United States work more harmoniously with the rest of the world on the question of disarmament so that actual reductions in the heavy burden of arms may be brought about? In a word, shall the United States, under the Roosevelt administration adhere to the policy of isolation followed by the last three administrations or shall it coöperate more closely with other nations?

It would be useless to prophesy concerning the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward these problems. It is encouraging to observe, however, that Mr. Roosevelt has been studying the problems he will have to meet thoughtfully and that he has consulted freely with men of wide experience and broad sympathies. W.E.M.

WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

INVALUABLE INFORMATION

The Council on Foreign Relations performs an invaluable service to all those interested in world affairs by publishing each year a "Political Handbook of the World: Parliaments, Parties and Press." The 1933 Handbook, edited by Walter H. Mallory (New York: Council on Foreign Relations. \$2.50), is just off the press. It brings information relative to politics and the governmental situation in each country up to January 1, 1933. It gives the name of the head of each government, and the number of representatives of each party in the parliament. It then analyzes the different political parties, telling what each stands for in foreign policy and in domestic policy, from what classes its support comes, and who its leaders are. Finally there is, in the case of each country, a list of the more important newspapers and news agencies with a short characterization of the political affiliation of each and the name of the proprietor and editor.

For an example of the service rendered by this handbook we may turn to pages seventy-two to seventy-seven and find the analysis of the German situation. We learn that on the first of January Paul von Hindenburg, an Independent, was president; that he was reelected April 10, 1932, for a seven-year term; that the cabinet, nonpartisan, was appointed December 4, 1932; that the chancellor was General von Schleicher; that the Reichstag, elected November 6, 1932, for a term of four years, had as its president Herman W. Goering, National Socialist; that the representation of the different parties at that time was as follows: National Socialist, 196; Social Democrat, 121; Communist, 100; Catholic Centre, 70; German National People's, 54; Bavarian People's, 20; People's, 11; Christian Social (Protestant), 5; German Peasants, 3; State, 3; Hanoverian, 1; total 584. Then comes a listing of the parties, their programs and their leaders. Here is what is said of the Social Democratic party:

Has a moderate constitutional state socialist program; its members are mainly skilled and unskilled workers, office clerks and employees,

and civil servants. In foreign policy, it joins the other parties in seeking revision of the peace treaties and relief from the burden of reparations, particularly in the interest of the working class; favored Locarno treaties and entry of Germany into League of Nations; urged adherence to Kellogg Pact; advocates free trade or only moderate protection. In domestic policy, stands for protection of the Republic and unity of the Reich with more centralization of power in the federal government, opposes monarchism and militarism, and represents the interest of workers in industrial legislation, such as the 8-hour day, social insurance, and other measures; urges reform of judiciary, seeks extension of power of trade unions.

The analysis of the press is very valuable. We frequently read in our papers of political comments by foreign newspapers. These comments are much more meaningful to us if we know where the paper stands. If we read something, for example, from the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, we can better interpret its opinions by knowing that it is the "organ of National People's party; highly nationalistic in tendency; advocates union of all nationalist elements" and that Dr. Alfred Hugenberg is the proprietor. It goes without saying that a political analysis similar to that given in the case of Germany is supplied for each of the nations of the world, including the United States.

If this handbook were on the library shelves of all high schools, the study of international affairs could be carried on with much more exactness, and classes in European history would find in the handbook factual material which they should not miss. We recommend this handbook strongly for high school and college use.

THE PROGRESSIVES

It appears that the Progressives, both Democratic and Republican, will exert a considerable influence in the Roosevelt administration. It seems certain that several of them will be taken into the cabinet and the programs of others will find a friendlier attitude in the White House than they have found before. A study of the characteristics and personalities of the progressive, or liberal, leaders is therefore timely.

Such a study, sympathetic and yet critical, was published last summer, "Sons of the Wild Jackass," by Ray Tucker and Frederick R. Barkley (Boston: L. C. Page and Co. \$3.00). The title, of course, comes from the label which Senator George Moses, of New Hampshire, conservative Republican, attached sarcastically to the Progressives three or four years ago. Ray Tucker is a correspondent for the Scripps-Howard newspapers and is the author of "Mirrors of 1932." Frederick R. Barkley is the Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*. These two political reporters have sketched in this book the following Progressive senators: Norris, Borah, Johnson, Walsh of Montana, La Follette, Shipstead, Cutting, Couzens, Dill, Wheeler, Nye, Costigan and Brookhart. One member of the House of Representatives, La Guardia, also finds a place among the "Sons of the Wild Jackass."

NEW IRISH NOVEL

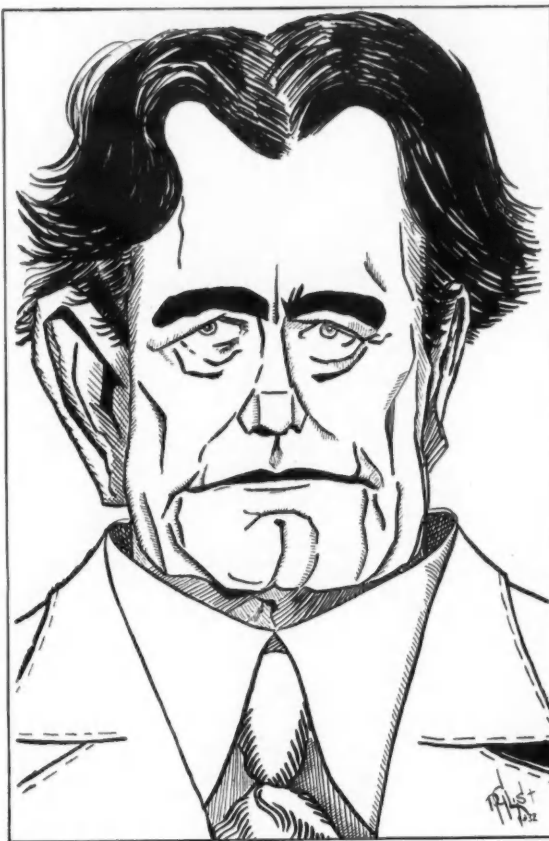
Francis Stuart's new novel "The Coloured Dome" (New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.00) is a rare piece of literature that will do much to enhance the reputation of this young Irish writer who became known to America through his "Pigeon Irish." It is full of the deep mysticism, tender beauty and delicate charm that characterize the Irish spirit and temperament. Using the Irish revolutionary movement as a basis for his plot, Mr. Stuart intermingles and superimposes three dominant forces in Irish life today—politics, religion and mysticism.

Mr. Stuart belongs to the relatively new school of Irish writers which has been seeking to develop a typically national literature. This school has long held that the Irish and English are diametrically opposed in spirit and emotional makeup and consequently each should have its distinctive literature. In Mr. Stuart's book, the scene is laid in Dublin. The hero is Garry Delea to whom life had always been drab and meaningless, an eternal round of the same thing. His daily work was monotonous, his recreations insipid, in a word, his every activity failed to satisfy that burning desire for self-fulfilment. His opportunity for spiritual release comes when he offers his life for the independence movement. After a few moments of emotional exultation, however, his plans are frustrated by his release from prison and his return to the humdrum of daily existence. But the desire to make something of his life has not been lost and, quite Christlike, he returns to prison "to share the little, ludicrous tragedies of the world."

In "The Coloured Dome" Mr. Stuart often soars to poetic heights. His story of contemporary Ireland comes as a fragrant breath of spring to a cold, depression-ridden world. His style is clean-cut and devoid of useless flourishes and cheap sentimentality. We can agree with William Soskin when he says: "This man Stuart is a blessed writer, and more exciting than the whole Fianna Fail."

THE RELIEF PROBLEM

Walter M. West, executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, presents, in the February 1933 *Survey*, a telling picture of the destitution which prevails in the United States today, a picture of the relief problem and of the inadequacy of the handling of that problem. He shows how lacking the nation and the



WILLIAM E. BORAH

A cartoon by R. G. List in "Sons of the Wild Jackass."

communities have been in leadership in the face of this great crisis. Municipalities and states have run out of money. Private charity can no longer meet the need. The national government has done very little. Millions are in want, and the growing unrest on the part of those who are suffering is assuming dangerous proportions.

ALLEGED POLISH BRUTALITY

The *Manchester Guardian*, January 27, tells an almost unbelievable story of brutality practiced by representatives of the Polish government against the Ukrainians, a minority people who dwell within the confines of Poland. According to this report from the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, the persecution of the Ukrainians is thoroughly vicious. The Ukrainians are being arrested on trumped up charges, according to this report, and without having been given a trial are subjected to torture. In some cases their hair is torn out, they are compelled to swallow water until their stomachs are distended, they are beaten into insensibility. These alleged practices have been brought from time to time before the Council of the League of Nations, for the League has the power to supervise the treatment of minority peoples in the nations established by the Treaty of Versailles. Of course, these practices are not essentially different from those used by policemen against persons accused of crime in many American cities. They resemble our "third degree" methods. But they are not for that reason any the less reprehensible.

THE FARM CRISIS

"What Future Has Farming?" is a question which Walter W. Liggett considers in the *March Scribners*. It is a dreary and disconcerting picture which he draws. A very large proportion of the American farmers have lost their farms and their homes through inability to pay interest on the mortgages or taxes. This is, of course, unfortunate for the individual farmers; but it is more than that. It constitutes a crisis for the nation. With the small individual farmer disappearing, the farm system will go in the direction either of landlords and tenants, which means an inferior civilization, or in the direction of great landed estates with hired migratory labor, or of great cooperative farms such as Russia is undertaking to develop. The farm problem is therefore a national problem of primary significance.



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—Wortman in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM
"YOU SORTA TOOK THE PLACE OF HIS MOTHER, BUT NOW YOU TOO ARE GONE."
One of the cartoons reproduced in the February *Midmonthly Survey* to show the relief needs of the nation.



ONE of the most colorful and spectacular events witnessed in this country is the quadrennial inaugural ceremonies. Next Saturday at exactly twelve o'clock noon, Franklin Delano Roosevelt will succeed Herbert Clark Hoover as president of the United States. The event will be marked by a brilliant ceremony, preparations for which have been under way for many weeks. At eleven o'clock in the morning, the incoming president will go to the White House whence he and the outgoing president will drive together to the Capitol amid a procession of army cavalymen. At the Capitol, Mr. Roosevelt will enter the president's room, waiting there until all is in readiness for administration of the oath of office.

Mr. Roosevelt will actually become president when the oath of office is given him by the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Charles Evans Hughes. After he has been officially proclaimed president of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt will deliver his first public declaration in his new capacity, the inaugural address. In all parts of the nation, people will pause to listen to the words of the new chief executive as they are carried over the air. Not a lengthy oration will they hear, for it is expected that the president's message will take no longer than fifteen minutes.

More important to the people who are in Washington next Saturday will be the next feature of the ceremony—the inaugural parade. From the Capitol up Pennsylvania Avenue, the procession will be led by the president. But he will participate for only a short distance, as he withdraws shortly after, hurriedly drives to the White House, takes luncheon, and prepares to review the parade from the grandstand especially constructed for that purpose. For hours, people from all sections of the country will file before the president. Not until late into the night will the ceremonies cease with fireworks and a gay inaugural ball.

In many respects, the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt will be unique and unusual. It will be the last time in the century and a half of our history that the president will be placed in office on the fourth of March, for with the ratification of the twentieth amendment to the Constitution, there will be no more lame duck presidents, and henceforth the chief executive will assume office January 20. The inauguration of this week is furthermore unusual in that it marks one of those rare occasions in our history that the Democrats have succeeded the Republicans in directing the affairs of state. As the inauguration of Grover Cleveland in 1885 marked the return to power of Thomas Jefferson's party the first time after the Civil War, and that of Woodrow Wilson in 1913, the return after sixteen years of political exile, so the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt places the Democrats at the helm of the ship of state for the first time since the close of the World War.

Few presidents have taken over the reins of government at a more critical time than Mr. Roosevelt. Bewilderment, discouragement, uneasiness and general tensy pervade the atmosphere. Consequently, an entire people has pinned its hopes on the incoming president. Not since the inaugu-

ration of Lincoln in 1861 and again in 1865, perhaps, has the nation been confronted with a crisis that has so tried the souls of men. Thus, although outwardly there will be much exuberance and rejoicing on Saturday, underneath will be the uncertainty and anxiety that characterized the inauguration of Hayes in 1877 when the nation was in the midst of a violent depression and public opinion was inflamed at the contested election; that of McKinley in 1897 when the country was in the throes of another economic storm; and the second inauguration of Woodrow Wilson when we were on the verge of entering the most gigantic and disastrous war in our history. In some ways, the problems with which the new president will be faced are more complex and difficult of solution than those of the previous crises. For not only is the future of our own people involved, but the welfare of the entire world depends to a large extent upon Mr. Roosevelt's capacity to grasp the problems at hand.

Until the inauguration of President Hoover in 1929, a comparative handful of people were permitted to take part in the glamour and solemnity of the day. Those who were not fortunate enough to be able to afford the trip to the capital were completely isolated from the proceedings, except for newspaper reports. Now, however, radio has come into such wide use that practically everyone will be able to follow the events of the day as they occur.

In so far as the ceremonies themselves are concerned, traditions that have evolved from the earliest days of the republic will be observed at the Roosevelt inauguration. The parade, perhaps the most colorful spectacle of the entire day, began with our third president, Thomas Jefferson. When he first took the oath of office in 1801, Jefferson merely walked across the street from his lodgings to the Capitol, the only ceremony being a discharge of artillery guns. Four years later, however, the first parade was witnessed. President Jefferson traveled from the

Development of Inaugural Parade

White House to the Capitol on horseback in the company of his secretary and groom. Troops did not take part in the inaugural parade until the time of James Madison. By the time Jackson took office, quite an elaborate ceremony had been developed. A colorful and detailed account of the proceedings after delivery of the inaugural speech is recorded by McMaster in his "History of the People of the United States":

The speech delivered, a cable that had been stretched across the steps was torn away, and with a wild shout the crowd surged up to grasp the hand of the people's President. It was with difficulty that Jackson could make his way to a horse, mount it, and, preceded, surrounded, and followed by a dense mass of human beings, start for the White House. One who was present declares that "the President was literally pursued by a motley concourse of people, riding, running helter-skelter, striving who should first gain admittance into the Executive mansion, where it was understood that refreshments were to be distributed." Once at the White House, the President found it in the possession of a disorderly mob, which swept across the grounds and into the rooms, where all semblance of order was abandoned. To serve the people with cakes and ices was impossible, and in the unseemly scramble china and glass were broken. In the hope of lessening the crush, punch was carried out in tubs and buckets to those still in the grounds. But as those without could not get in, so those within could not get out, and Jackson, despite the efforts of his friends, was pushed through the audience room, was pressed against the wall and well-nigh crushed before those near had time to link arms and make a barrier about him. "It was then," says our witness, "that the windows were thrown open, and the living torrent found an outlet. It was the people's day, the people's President, and the people would rule."

Martin Van Buren was the first incoming president to go to the White House the morning of the inauguration and ride to the Capitol in the company of the retiring executive, thereby establishing a custom which has since been followed by all presidents. The practice of having outside organizations participate in the parade and other ceremonies was begun with William Henry Harrison. The development of transportation facilities, of course, made this custom possible, and has in no small way been responsible for the gathering of

throng from near and far personally to do honor to the new president. In the Roosevelt inauguration, the galaxy of movie celebrities which will cross the continent in special trains equipped with all possible luxuries and conveniences, the state governors with their entourages, the numerous delegations of patriotic and other organizations—all these are the logical development of this early custom.

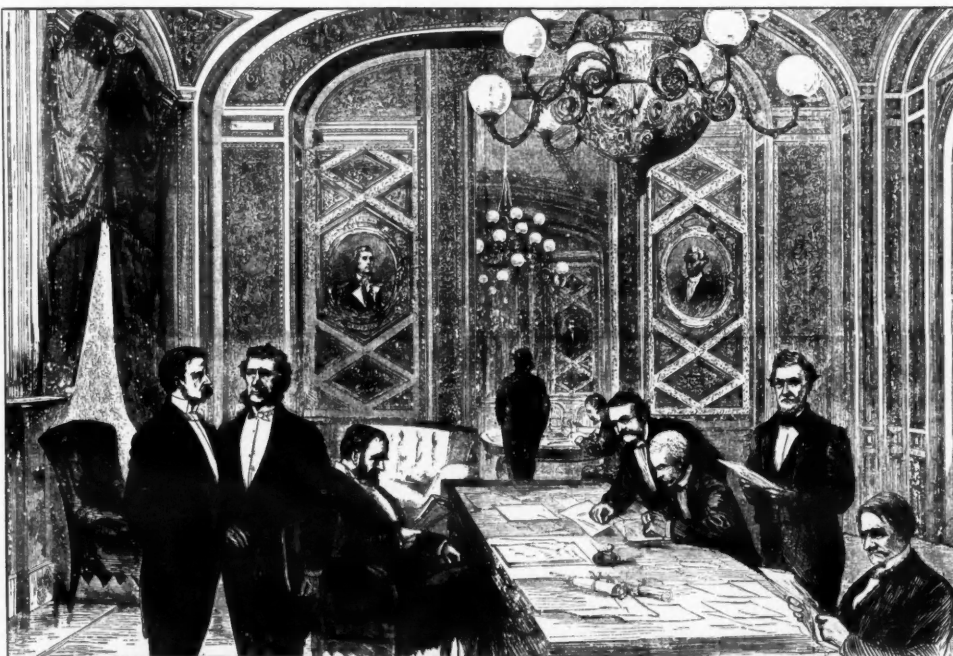
One of the most spectacular performances of inauguration day—that of reviewing the parade on its return to the White House—was started by President Polk. This practice was enlarged upon at the first inauguration of Grover Cleveland, and a special reviewing stand, similar to the one from which Mr. Roosevelt will view the marchers, was erected in front of the executive mansion. Of special interest, too, is the development of the custom of inviting the state governors to attend the inaugural ceremonies—a custom begun with the second administration of President Grant. This idea has been elaborated this year, and the new president will hold a conference with the governors two days after he takes the oath of office.

From Thomas Jefferson's first walk to the Capitol and Andrew Jackson's famous horseback ride up Pennsylvania Avenue, the custom of riding in carriages and phaetons drawn by horses soon developed. This means of transportation, however, was abandoned at the second inaugural of Woodrow Wilson when, for the first time, a motor vehicle was used. The present inauguration is comparable only to that of 1917 and to the first inauguration of Lincoln in the precautions which will be taken to guard the president's life. In the three instances, elaborate plans were deemed necessary to protect the chief executive's life because of the gravity of the crisis.

For the most part, Inauguration Day has been marked by inclement weather. Rain or snow, rather than fair weather, has been the order of the day. In a number of cases, the president has been obliged to take the oath of office in the chamber of the House of Representatives. Many intricate plans for parades and ceremonies have been frustrated by the weather. At the inauguration of William Howard Taft, there was such an intense blizzard that Washington was completely cut off from the outside, and it was only with the greatest efforts that the parade could be staged.

Since the time of Washington, who was inaugurated in New York, April 30, 1789, most of the presidents have taken the oath of office on the traditional March 4. When that day has fallen on Sunday, however, the president has generally been inaugurated the following day. James Monroe and Zachary Taylor both took the oath of office March 5. Because of the bitterness prevailing in 1877 Rutherford B. Hayes was ushered into office on March 3, the first and only time in history that such a procedure was followed. In 1917, conditions were so critical that Woodrow Wilson was administered the oath at the White House Sunday, March 4. The public ceremony, however, was staged the following day when Mr. Wilson took the oath publicly at the Capitol.

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—Harpers Weekly (Culver Service)
ON THE EVE OF ONE OF THE CRITICAL INAUGURATIONS OF HISTORY
President Grant and his cabinet assembled in the Capitol at midnight, March 3, 1877. The chief executive had been signing bills up to the last minute.

Bonds of Little Entente in Europe Strengthened

Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania Form Permanent International Organization for Mutual Welfare

The first definite step toward establishment of a Danubian Federation of the small countries along the Danube river was taken February 15 when the three countries of the "Little Entente," Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, announced at Geneva that they had formed a "permanent international organization," or political and economic association.

After the World War, the great Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up into several small countries, established according to Woodrow Wilson's policy of the "self-determination of peoples." Austria and Hungary were separated into two republics, and a new Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland were created. This political independence was a great satisfaction to the people of the various nationalities involved, but the creation of new independent governments has led to a rapid and unexpected growth of nationalism throughout southeastern Europe. With the erection of new frontiers, new tariff walls have sprung up, to help pay the expenses of government, and separate currencies have been adopted for each of the former provinces.

All this has been a severe handicap to the economic welfare and post-war reconstruction of this whole area. Under the old Empire, the whole territory that is now Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and a part of Poland was a self-supporting, free-trade unit. The twin capitals of Vienna and Budapest, with the industrial center of Prague in Czechoslovakia, were a market for the agricultural output of the provinces, selling them industrial products in return, with no intervening tariff walls to obstruct the free exchange of goods. Now, however, the agricultural plains and valleys of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary are cut off by frontiers and tariff walls from the indus-

trial centers of Czechoslovakia and Austria. They are hampered, just as Kansas or Minnesota would be hampered if New York and Chicago were in two foreign countries so that the farmers would have to pay duty on industrial city products and ship their farm products across an international frontier and customs barrier for marketing. The result is a situation of desperate economic distress throughout southeastern Europe, with trade slaughtered by embargoes, factories slowed up or stopped altogether, capital tied up in unsold goods, and currencies tottering.

The new Danubian union is an effort to break down the tariff walls between the little eastern European countries and re-establish economic security by financial and trade measures such as preferential tariffs and cooperation between central banks. It establishes a real international federation on a "stable organic base" through a permanent council of the three countries' foreign ministers. This council will meet three times a year at Geneva to decide on a common foreign and domestic policy for the whole group, passing on treaties and agreeing on legislative, financial and economic programs looking toward closer cooperation among the nations.

The association includes only three countries, instead of all five of the Succession States, as proposed in March, 1932, in French Premier Tardieu's suggested Danubian Federation, but it is open to other nations that may wish to join later. Its formation is the climax of more than ten years' work toward European union, as expressed in the political Pan-Europa of the Austrian idealist, Coudenhove-Kalergi, and the European Economic Union proposed by the late French foreign minister, Aristide Briand. It is a personal triumph for two gifted foreign ministers, Benes of Czechoslovakia and Titulesco of Rumania.



—Drawn for the AMERICAN OBSERVER

EUROPE'S LITTLE ENTENTE

men have never had any constitutional place in the Japanese government, Emperor Meiji, shortly before his death, requested that the members of the society be consulted on all important policies. This wish has always been respected.

But now there is only one Elder Statesman left, Prince Saionji, who is eighty-four years old. Nevertheless, whenever an unusually important decision must be rendered, the government in power seeks the counsel of the elderly prince. And he is well prepared to give advice, as his experience has been broad. At the age of nineteen he held command of an imperial army in Japan. Later he lived ten years in France, was minister to Austria in 1885, and later was ambassador to Germany.



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PRINCE SAIONJI

RUTH BRYAN OWEN

There is much discussion in political circles as to what Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of the late William Jennings Bryan, will do after her term expires in the House of Representatives March 4. She was one of the few Democrats in the country who fell by the wayside in the primary elections—her defeat being due chiefly to the fact that she remained a prohibitionist after her constituents had switched to the wet cause. But one thing certain is that no Democrat as prominent as Ruth Bryan Owen will be kept out of office, considering the enormous amount of patronage which Mr. Roosevelt has to pass out.

It may truly be said that Mrs. Owen has risen to her present position in politics on her own initiative, irrespective of the reputation of her famous father. And since her election to the Seventy-first Congress from a Florida district November 6, 1928, by a large majority, she has worked strenuously for the enactment of social welfare legislation.



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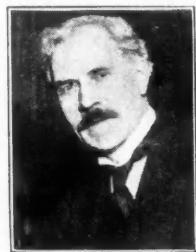
RUTH BRYAN OWEN

British Prime Minister May Visit United States

The common belief in authoritative circles that James Ramsay MacDonald, British prime minister, will come to the United States soon to discuss war debts with Mr. Roosevelt throws the international spotlight upon Mr. MacDonald again. His prominence in world affairs during the present crisis has placed him high in the ranks of international statesmen. The fact that he has been chosen president of the coming World Economic Conference, upon which so much depends, indicates the stature of the man.

He was born in a small town in Scotland, October 12, 1866. His father was a laborer who could afford to provide his son with only an elementary education. But later when young MacDonald was a clerk in London, he attended night school so as to increase his range of knowledge.

In 1894 he joined the Independent Labor party. He worked arduously to build up his party, and was rewarded for his energy in 1911 when he was chosen to head the Labor representation in parliament. In opposing England's entrance into the World War he was widely denounced as unpatriotic, and was forced to resign his leadership of the Labor party. But by 1923 the war propaganda and excitement had subsided and he was again asked to head the Laborites.



RAMSAY MACDONALD

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Whenever a man suggests choosing the ten best minds to boss things, you'll notice that he asks for only nine nominations.

—Milwaukee LEADER

Americanism: Denouncing Europe because she doesn't pay; keeping very quiet about the millions in worthless state bonds held by Europeans.

—Milwaukee LEADER

Meditation is the tongue of the soul and the language of our spirit.—Jeremy Taylor

New York City is going to buy 9000 mice for its Health Department. Hasn't that bureau got enough to do without trying to keep 9000 mice healthy?—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Now that the mortgagees have got the farms, what are they going to do with them?—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

We are only vulnerable and ridiculous through our pretensions.

—Mme. de Girardin

"Forget the past," says an economic expert. Easier said than done. A lot of our future is locked up in it. —Philadelphia INQUIRER

And at the end of all the talk, the pulling and hauling in the name of farm relief, the fact remains that it takes jack to lift the mortgage. —Toledo BLADE

The New York Electrical Society is now taking photographs in the dark by means of heat rays. We may yet be able to catch a ghost in the very act.

—Minneapolis JOURNAL

We learn wisdom from failure much more than from success. We often discover what will do by finding out what will not do; and probably he who never made a mistake never made a discovery.

—Samuel Smiles

A Missouri architect suggests placing all public statues in ponds, and we can suggest a number for the location providing the water is deep enough.

—Philadelphia INQUIRER

How many threadbare souls are to be found under silken cloaks and gowns!

—Thomas Brooks

The secret of the gang of swindlers in London who have been making illicit whisky seems to be a secret still.

—Punch

PRONUNCIATIONS: Entente (ahn-tahnt), Saito (say-to-o as in go), Saionji (si-on'jee —i as in time, o as in on), Meiji (may-ee'jee), Suichung (sway-choong'), Pungliao (poong'-leow—e as in eke, ow as in cow, cow pronounced simultaneously), Chaoyang (chow-yahng—ow as cow).

Wagner Relief Bill Granting New Loans to States Passed by Senate

(Concluded from page 1)

fied before the Senate Committee on Manufactures that in his opinion 3,000,000 families in the United States, or 10 per cent of the entire population, will require relief from public funds during the present year.

A Grave Crisis

Figures are always cold and relatively meaningless except to the imaginative who can see what the facts indicate in terms of human life. When we turn the imaginative eye upon these statistics we see a pathetic picture of 3,000,000 American homes. The heads of families, willing to work but unable to find anything to do, cannot pay the rent, cannot pay for food or coal or clothing. They must endure the bitter experience of seeing the women and children in their families shivering in the winter cold. The clothing is meager and shabby. There is no coal for the stove. There is no food in the pantry and it is impossible any longer to run bills at the grocery store. If a member of the family is ill, there is no money to buy medicine. It is impossible to go to the hospital. Medical care may not be had save in a grave emergency when it may possibly be obtained on a basis of charity. The landlord is calling for rent. The family is obliged to move. Smaller quarters are taken. There is dreadful overcrowding and even here the rent cannot be paid. Perhaps enough money may possibly be obtained to pay the rent for a month, and so the family keeps on moving. There was a mass of testimony before the Senate committee showing how poor families have been moving during recent months from place to place until they have become almost like gypsies.

This is not an imaginary picture. It is the typical story of what is happening in thousands and millions of homes of American citizens. It is the kind of story which was told again and again by social workers and heads of relief organizations in their testimony before the Senate Committee on Manufactures. But are not these unfortunate Americans being cared for? What about the relief machinery? Are not relief organizations seeing to it that there is no actual suffering? The answer is that meager relief is being given in many instances. Appeals have been made for private charity. The states, counties and cities have appropriated great sums of money and this is being spent for relief. The national government, acting through the Reconstruction

Finance Corporation, last year set aside \$300,000,000 for loans to the states, these loans to be used for relief. A little more than half of this money has been borrowed by thirty-six states and that money, too, is being spent. Now the lending of \$300,000,000 has been authorized.

Federal Aid Needed

But the amount available for relief is nearly everywhere inadequate. This fact, too, comes out clearly as one reads the mass of testimony brought out in the Senate hearing. Private charity cannot be drawn upon much more. Early in the depression private giving was considerable, but now only about 12 per cent of the relief funds are gathered from that source. It appears that individual giving can be depended upon to meet an emergency situation like that created by a tornado or an earthquake. But when the situation becomes chronic, when relief has to be given week after week, month after month, and year after year, private charity cannot be drawn upon to an amount which is at all adequate. This leaves the sums which can be raised by states, counties and cities and which the local organizations can borrow from the national government. Altogether the funds are so small that the relief which is given is poor indeed. The evidence before the committee makes a number of things clear. Here are some of them:

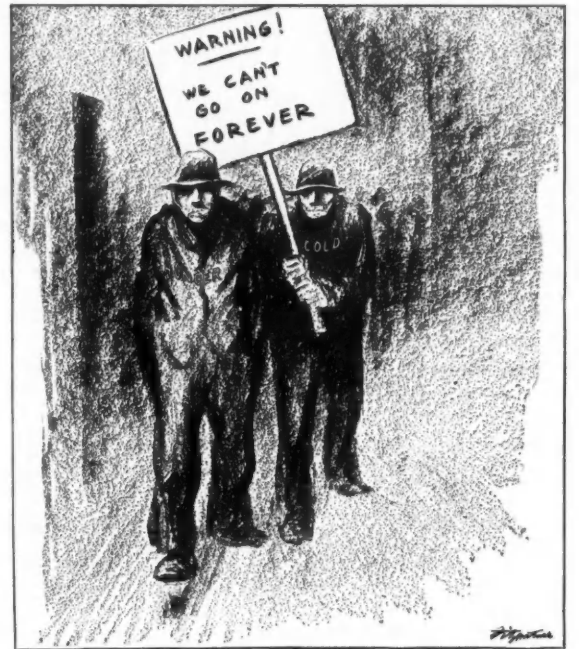
Relief is not given to any of the unemployed until it can definitely be proved that all the family's possessions have been drawn upon and that it has nowhere else to go for support. If property is owned, it must be sold before relief is given if it is possible to make a sale. Insurance policies are given up. The family must borrow from friends, if borrowing is possible. Finally, when all savings have been exhausted, when everything which has been laid up for a rainy day is gone, when there is no longer any support or any hope, the appeal may be made to the relief authorities. Then a small amount of food is doled out. In some cities grocery orders amounting to fifteen or twenty dollars a month for a family of five will be given. In other cases, the allowance is three, four or five dollars a week. In some cities it is fifty cents per person a week for food. In other places it is several times that amount. In the state of Pennsylvania, the usual weekly family grant for food in December, according to a statement of Senator La Fol-

lette, based upon the Senate hearings, was three or four dollars per week. "The maximum was \$4.50 per week, regardless of the size of the families. In West Virginia, the average allowance per week to the needy and distressed has been between seventy and eighty cents." In most places nothing is given for rent, for clothing, for coal, for medical assistance.

Plight of Cities and States

Why has the relief been so meager? The answer is that the funds have been very hard to obtain. We spoke a while ago of the difficulty of raising anything from private charity. It is also hard for the states and cities to get money through taxation. In nearly all cases the system of taxation is a very poor one. States and municipalities depend upon the general property tax. Property like farms and residences and office buildings and land—property which cannot be hidden from view of the assessors—is taxed. Not only that, but it bears almost the whole burden of taxation. Property like money, or stocks, or bonds, the kind which forms the greater part of the accumulations of the wealthy, escapes taxation because it is hard to prove its existence. Most states and localities do not depend much upon income taxes, or gasoline taxes, or inheritance taxes, or taxes on luxuries. Now the property which bears most of the burden is so heavily taxed that in very many cases the burden can no longer be borne. Farmers have lost their homes, business men have lost their establishments because unable to pay the taxes. Frequently it happens that taxes are simply not being paid and the sources of public income in the communities are drying up. Many cities and states have already borrowed either as much as, under the law, they are allowed to borrow, or as much as they can borrow without completely destroying their credit. It is difficult for them even to borrow from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation because their indebtedness is already so great. Hence the difficulty of raising money in the various communities for relief.

We come, now, to the national government. Should it contribute to the support of the needy in the various communities? Many conservatives, both Democrats and Republicans, have said no. President Hoover has stood out against direct aid by the federal government. Senator Glass of Virginia, a Democrat, has come out flatly and strongly against even such relief as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been giving in the form of loans. The argument is that local communities should handle their own problems. If the people of a certain state, it is said, cannot raise the money to take care of their own needs, how can they contribute in the form of taxes to the national government, so that a national fund may be created to be apportioned to the various states, including their own? Against this argument the fact is brought forward that the national government has a different system of taxation. It does not depend, as do the localities, on a general property tax. It has a freer range, so that it can collect money from those able to bear the burdens of taxation,



CRISIS
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

whereas the local units of government, because of the nature of their tax policies, cannot do so. It is argued, further, that the credit of the national government is better than that of the local governments. The conservatives who oppose federal grants contend, of course, that the federal credit would not long be good if wholesale grants for relief were made.

Change of Attitude

Until last year the conservatives, led by men like President Hoover of the Republican, and Senator Glass of the Democratic party, controlled the situation and maintained a governmental policy of hands off. The national government did not participate directly in relief. Now the out-and-out opponents of direct federal relief are in the minority. At least they are in the minority in the Senate. The recent debate in that body hinged, not on the question as to whether the federal government should give relief, but as to whether the relief should be in the form of loans to the states or of direct grants. In support of the Costigan-La Follette bill for direct grants of money it was charged that many of the local governments were unable safely to borrow more money even from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and that the loan policy which has been adhered to for a year and which the Wagner bill would enlarge and extend, has proved inadequate and unsatisfactory. It was freely charged that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had acted like a heartless banker intent on making loans only if the security were good. It was said that the R. F. C. had not administered its funds in a humanitarian spirit.

Senator Wagner, in support of his measure—the measure which was enacted by the Senate—claimed that the \$300,000,000 addition to the R. F. C. loanable fund would give a considerable amount of relief. He contended that it was the best thing that could be had during the present administration, for if the present Congress were to adopt the La Follette-Costigan bill for direct gifts to the states, the measure would be vetoed by President Hoover. Senator Wagner admitted that the R. F. C. policy had been inhumane, but he expressed his confidence that under the Roosevelt administration the funds under its control would be utilized in a more generous spirit. Senator Glass called in vain for the abandonment of direct aid in any form by the federal government or its agent, the Reconstruction Corporation.

And so the Senate closed the debate with the passage of a compromise measure. Meanwhile, regardless of what the House may do with the bill, the problem of relief still stares the people of the nation in the face. Millions of Americans are hungry and cold and hopeless. Here and there one sees outcroppings of impatience which, if real relief is long delayed, may swell to alarming proportions.



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GIVING OVERCOATS TO THE UNEMPLOYED

The states and communities have reached their limit in caring for the unemployed and are now calling upon Congress for relief.